

# PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 65

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2d.

## Conspiracy of Silence in the Press— SEE PAGE ELEVEN

### GENERAL CROZIER: TRIBUTE "THE TIMES" DID NOT PRINT

By Dr. H. R. L. SHEPPARD

**O**N hearing, with the deepest regret, of the death of our friend and Sponsor, Brigadier-General F. P. Crozier, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., I asked *The Times* to insert the following:

From H. R. L. Sheppard.

Will you please allow this tribute of homage and affection to the memory of Frank Crozier—gallant soldier and equally gallant pacifist? I do not write for myself alone but on behalf of many thousands who, during the last two years, were associated with him in the Peace Pledge Union, of which he was an original Sponsor, and to which he gave all that he had of courage, zeal, and passion.

No man can throw over a career, for conscience's sake, in which he is a conspicuous success, to embrace another for which this world has neither rewards nor favour, and escape suffering. This certainly was the abundant lot of Frank Crozier.

Of his suffering I will not write; it was poignant and very real. Save for the selfless devotion of Mrs. Crozier, David Starrett, the happiness of his home and the companionship of his Great Dane dog 'Barri,' there seemed almost no compensations allowed him latterly—not even that of tolerable health.

"*The Times* did not see fit to print these words. It is significant that in a full obituary notice, in some respects most misleading and in others most ungenerous, no reference was made to the General's connexion with the Peace Pledge Union, nor was the word pacifism so much as mentioned.

The following extract appears in "*The New Statesman*" of September 4:

"General Crozier would have been furious at the patronizing evasions of *The Times* obituary notice of him. What business has *The Times* to say that 'In kindness to him his last book, *The Men I Killed*, which appeared last month, is best forgotten'? It said clearly what Crozier wanted this generation to understand.

"After a lifetime of fighting he wanted to tell people that the horror of war lies not so much in its suffering as in its indiscriminate stupidity; he wanted people to know that it had been his duty as a much decorated and very brave soldier (which even *The Times* admits him to have been) to shoot his own men as well as the Germans. Such things happen in war."

"*The Times* also slurred over the facts about his retirement. He left

"But with spendid fortitude he never failed to keep his engagements all over the country, nor write as he felt constrained to about the abomination of war. The last memory many of us have of him was in our Swanwick camp, a week or so ago, where, with the marks of his grave illness upon him, he compelled himself to take part in our discussions and diversions.

"In the latter his impersonation of myself in clerical collar, addressing a meeting while frequently resorting to the use of an asthmatic inhaler, was overwhelmingly amusing.

"We pacifists from all parts of the land salute our one General. We shall not forget his uncompromising witness, his tireless work at Walton-on-Thames, nor the gallantry with which he faced the adversity of ill-health and the criticisms inevitably aroused by the pacifism of an outspoken soldier and General, who knew of what he spoke.

"To me, personally, the loss of Frank is the loss of a beloved friend and the most loyal and generous of colleagues."

"They say 'We won't have any more of this "Heil Hitler" nonsense.' Herr Goebels was a laughing-stock."

Friends of the Englishwoman

"declared that anti-Jewish placards

were being more frequently torn

down.

"On the other hand, her friends held that rearmament and reoccupation of the Rhineland had been forced upon them, and, being themselves liberals, were very bitter against Great Britain for having, as they held, driven Germany back into reactionary and militarist policies instead of encouraging the more liberal governments which preceded that of Herr Hitler. It was this new bitterness and the reason for it which most impressed her."

(On page 2 Lord Ponsonby reviews a new book by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.)

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ment to fight all war. I suppose *The Times* objects to facing the fact that war experience may make a man a pacifist. It would still like to pretend that pacifism is a synonym for cowardice."

It will be remembered that a few months ago PEACE NEWS gave publicity to the Southern Railway's desire to be able "to boast the first Railway Anti-Aircraft Company". The G.W.R., however, is making somewhat different plans.

"At a later date," explains the circular, "it is proposed to invite such members of the staff as are not essential to the maintenance of an emergency railway service, and are likely to be available, to enrol for service as air raid wardens or in the first aid, fire, decontamination, rescue, &c., parties which will be formed.

"As similar schemes are being prepared by local authorities who have in many cases asked for volunteers," the G.W.R. gives its staff "an early intimation of the arrangements which the Company have in contemplation. Whilst there is no objection to their volunteering for service under a municipal organization, should they so desire, the enrolling authority should be informed that they are employees of the Company, who, in the event of an emergency arising, would have a prior claim on their services."

In this manner yet another large concern is seeing that employees are drawn into the web of the Government's "defence" plans, whose real purpose was revealed by the late Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier when he said: "That is what the Government wants air raid wardens for—to keep you down in time of emergency. These 500,000 air raid wardens would be a bigger standing army than we have ever had, and would be a perfect instrument for a dictator."

### Scientists' Film To Show the Facts

BUT the work of exposing the true nature of these "precautions," and the uselessness of the anti-gas measures proposed, still goes on.

Early this year the Cambridge Scientists' Anti-War Group published, in *The Protection of the Public from Aerial Attack* (Gollancz) information of considerable value to the peace movement. Results of experiments which they gave have not yet been refuted on scientific grounds.

Now these scientists announce that a committee has been set up to embody their experimental material in a film, thus enabling a much wider public to be reached.

"We hope that the film will be distributed among the news cinemas of the country," says the secretary of the group in a statement to PEACE NEWS. "It will also be available at a minimum cost through one of the largest film libraries to any

peace societies and all who are interested in the subject of air raid precautions.

"It is the aim of this film to present a strictly scientific examination of the probable nature of air attack, particularly gas attack, on civilians in a future war, and of the means which are recommended to combat it. It will not advocate any remedy for the deficiencies which we have shown to exist.

"Policy should be based on dispassionate knowledge, and we believe that the cause of peace will be strengthened by a scientific estimate of the value of the recommendations and the contrast between this estimate and the official claims. By provoking discussion and stimulating thought the film will contribute toward balanced and reasonable action.

"The production of the film will be in the hands of Gaumont British Instructional Ltd.; their cooperation will ensure that the highest technical standards are maintained and the best value secured for the money spent. They have made a careful estimate of the cost of the film on the basis of its complete script, and find that it will amount to £600.

"The running time of the film will be approximately ten minutes; it will be made available both in 35 mm.

### Background to the War

Speakers' notes on the war in the Far East just published by the Union of Democratic Control, 34 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, price 3d., under the title *Japan's War on China*, deal with Japan's plans for North China, economic importance of North China, growth of Chinese resistance and national unity, the Liukouchiao incident, war on the Shanghai front, and the war front of North China, and include a map.

### Raw Materials: Geneva Talks

The League Committee appointed to study the raw materials problem last week considered financial proposals for facilitating the purchase of raw materials by countries enforcing exchange control.

The committee also considered a memorandum on a scheme for the international control of production and sale of products by cartels or agreements.

### INDIAN PRISONERS ADMIT FUTILITY OF VIOLENCE

**N**O country in the world is worse equipped for a violent struggle against authority; the British hold all the cards.

**"But no country in the world is better equipped for a non-violent struggle. It is in the Indian tradition . . ."**

This was the comment of the *Manchester Guardian* on the decision of the Indian prisoners in the Andaman Islands to suspend their hunger strike (referred to in last week's PEACE NEWS).

The strike followed the Indian Government's rejection of a petition for the release of political prisoners and the repeal of repressive legislation, and Mr. Gandhi was among those who appealed to the prisoners to end it. The text of his appeal has just been published. In it he said:

"You will help me personally if I could get an assurance that those who believed in terrorist methods no longer believe in them, and that they have come to believe in non-violence as the best method."

After a further exchange of telegrams with the prisoners, Mr. Gandhi

(standard) and in 16 mm. (sub-standard) form, and in each size there will be a sound and silent version, the latter being supplied with a printed commentary which will correspond to the spoken commentary of the sound film.

"In view of its value to the cause of peace, we are making an appeal for contributions toward the cost. Dr. J. Needham, of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, is acting as treasurer; cheques should be made payable and sent direct to 'The Treasurer, Cambridge Scientists' Film Committee,' Barclay's Bank, Cambridge. The Secretary, Mr. R. E. B. Makinson, St. John's College, Cambridge, will be glad to send any further particulars."

### SCIENTISTS AND ANTI-GAS MEASURES

The texts of a letter sent to the British Medical Association on behalf of the Cambridge Scientists' Anti-War Group, the reply of the B.M.A., and a Home Office statement with regard to "defence" against poison gas, appear in the current issue of *Peace*, monthly organ of the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1 (price 2d.).

An article by H. Graham White, M.P., on "Economic Appeasement" is among other contents.

### TEN MINUTES' WARNING

Actual warning of air attack in the event of war would be received by the civil population only ten minutes before invading aircraft reached their objective, said Major H. Stuart Blackmore, a Home Office official, last week. He added that under arrangements now being made a preliminary "general" warning would be possible twenty minutes in advance.

Major Blackmore admitted that protection against high explosive bombs was an engineering problem.

### Berlin "Black-Out"

The German army, navy, and air force will take part in combined manoeuvres (the first to be held) for five or six days commencing on September 20. A general rehearsal of "black-out precautions" and air raid drill will also be held in many North German towns, including Berlin.

### ARMY INCREASES?

Meanwhile evidence to justify the assertion that "the British hold all the cards" appeared in a recent statement by the Secretary for Defence in the Indian Legislative Assembly that, far from expecting anything further in the way of reduction in the army, India might have to face an increase. He was replying to an Opposition demand for economy in army expenditure.

(*British Domination in India*

—page 8).

### Lord Ponsonby reviews

### Reflections and Comments

## A BOOK ABOUT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

**T**HE supporters of collective "security" often argue that they have better knowledge of League of Nations procedure than their opponents and are more intimate with the League's history and development.

It is of first-class importance, therefore, that a book should appear written by one whose intimate knowledge of the League is beyond dispute, a book which disposes of the fallacy of collective "security" in a more masterly analysis than any to which it has yet been subjected.

*Collective Insecurity*, by H. M. Swanwick, C.H., M.A. (Jonathan Cape, 8s. 6d.), will be a volume indispensable to those of us who want to meet by chapter and verse the very plausible arguments of those who believe that, under the auspices of the League, nations can be marshalled in a unanimous and comprehensive force to preserve peace and check the aggressor.

The pity is that the book is not cheaper so that it might reach further.

**M**R. SWANWICK was a member of the British delegation to the Fifth and Tenth Assemblies of the League. Far from being an opponent of the League, her object is to save it from friends who want to strain its powers to the point of complete disruption.

She traces the fortunes of the League from its birth at a moment when so-called Peace Treaties were being imposed on the vanquished. "The victors were not wise," she says, "and it was unwise to expect wisdom of them in the intoxication of victory." And later:

"Victory tends to induce megalomania and these victors endeavoured to scale the heaven of permanent peace while grinding their late enemies under their heels."

So the Covenant cannot be regarded as a heaven-sent declaration, tied as it was to the Treaty of Versailles. The measure of the failure can be judged by world events since 1919, which are set out in the first chapter, including the Japanese and Italian adventures, the Secret Treaties, the intrigues and the lack of confidence among the Allies.

**T**HREE is a careful review of sanctions, what they mean in reality and to what they must lead.

We get the history of the series of attempts in treaties and pacts to ensure security on all sides and their failure. As the author says, "No amount of elaboration of pacts and pledges will take the place of confidence."

That, as we all know, is lacking, and the pretence that it exists, even among the nations which still remain in the League, is worse than useless. I myself often find in arguing this case that believers in collective "security" will take for granted that the governments of nations, both great and small, all mean business when confronted with a clear case of aggression. They do not, even though they may hold up their

hands in favour of resolutions in the Assembly.

Throughout the book Mrs. Swanwick deals with the realities and shows how unsafe it is to depend on theories and plausible catchwords.

**T**HE chapter entitled "Offence and Defence" might well be issued as a separate pamphlet.

The best case made for collective "security," contained in a carefully reasoned pamphlet by Mr. W. Arnold Forster, is examined fairly and squarely paragraph by paragraph. This is by far the most useful way of conducting the discussion. The more extravagant claims for the doctrine need hardly be taken seriously.

In a passing word Mrs. Swanwick disposes of the absurd proposal, put forward during the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, that we should close the Suez Canal "by sinking a warship at the entrance." From the outset I always maintained that the effective imposition of sanctions — economic inevitably leading to military — was impracticable. I find an endorsement of this view on page 210:

"My objection to sanctions is that they are fundamentally unworkable according to their professed intentions, but capable of being twisted to sinister purposes."

Every line of this chapter should be carefully studied by speakers who wish to be well equipped for argument on the subject.

**O**F pacifists Mrs. Swanwick says: "We want to make peace not war. We want a League that will try only to make peace. We don't believe in war to end war. Some of us never did."

She is right in using the word "us" for she was among the foremost who refused to believe in the specious falsehoods circulated during 1914-1918. Toward the end of the book she makes a valuable suggestion that "the dissemination of truth" should be left to "the League of Nations, which ought to be the only body entitled to employ a staff of war correspondents."

The great value of this book rests on the method by which the case is presented. Instead of just taking the disturbing facts by which we are confronted today, the author leads us up to them by tracing origins and causes and the reason of former failures on the part of the League.

She is convinced, and so am I, that a League of Nations is needed. Its capacity for construction and conciliation might be enormously increased.

But so long as the initial blunder of allowing the basis of its authority to rest on force remains, its moral authority cannot be strengthened and indeed its further existence is endangered.

*Arthur Ponsonby*

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## French General Gives the Game Away DEFENCE THAT MAY MEAN OFFENCE

**R**EVEALING observations on French "defence" policy are made in a copyright pamphlet by General Weygand published in France by Ernest Flammarion under the title *La France, est elle défendue? (Is France defended?)*

General Weygand was until recently chief of the French General Staff and Commander-in-Chief of the army, and he uses a phrase which might have come from a British politician when he says France must "be strong enough to take her place among the great Powers in international negotiations" (in other words, "might is right").

He admits that in order to "defend" her territory France might need to take the offensive.

She had to be "prepared for a sudden attack by a government whose authority over its citizens was unlimited and whose armies and air forces had been carried to the zenith of perfection."

### Basque Children "Seem Too Good"

"The only thing I do not quite like is that they seem too good," said Mr. George Lansbury after visiting Basque refugee children at Theydon Bois, Essex, recently.

"It is a pity that these children's critics could not come round and see them," he continued. "That would soon silence any criticism."

"It is our duty to do everything we can for them. We cannot make up to them what they have lost, but we should do as much as we can, and be grateful for the chance of doing it."

### American Students Sacrifice Holidays to Work for Peace

**I**NTENSIVE peace propaganda is being carried on in rural areas in the U.S.A. by 160 college students who have given up their summer holidays for this work.

They are attached to 63 centres situated in 22 States, and are known as Emergency Peace Volunteers, having been enrolled by the Youth Division of the Emergency Peace Campaign.

Their propaganda work by no means consists solely of addressing meetings. In some districts they often join farm workers in pitching hay, threshing grain, and so on, in order to get opportunities of talking to the field hands.

#### EVERY MEANS EMPLOYED

This is typical of their methods, for they believe in joining in the life of the community and in using every possible means to further their cause, making the radio, cinema, drama, and marionette shows all help in the work.

Many of the volunteers have sacrificed summer employment which would have helped to pay next year's school expenses. While working for peace they receive a small maintenance allowance amounting to the equivalent of about £1 a week per head.

Ten students who have had special training and experience believe there is a fundamental

## PACIFIST VENTURE IN THE MIDST OF WAR A Better Kind of "Volunteer" in Spain

From a Special Correspondent

**O**NE tractor; one plough; one corn-sowing machine; one harrow; twenty cows; ten sheep; six rabbits . . . it sounds like the inventory of a farm stock, doesn't it? As a matter of fact that's exactly what it is.

It is the inventory of the International Voluntary Service for Peace farm at Puigcerda, Northern Spain, where a dairy-farming scheme is being launched to help to feed some of the refugee children there.

As yet none of the above items has been obtained, except the six rabbits, which were given by a Spaniard—and I suppose that by now they will be thirty-six! It's surprising how a little gift grows. If the Service obtains sufficient support, all the other things will be added; it sounds a lot to expect, but the cooperation of people of good will can achieve wonders.

The immediate aim of this Service is the production of food, in their own country, for the Spanish refugee children, but beyond this is the principle that pacifism must not only be preached from platform and pulpit, but must above all be active and constructive.

By example, the volunteers will prove that the spirit of war can be conquered by the positive action of those who are willing to live and work in the service of others.

#### PACIFISM WITH A PUNCH!

They will be creating a farm, but they will also be helping to create that psychological condition which will eventually make wars impossible. Where better could they work than among these children, the Spanish

citizens of tomorrow?

#### Soldiers Do It, Too!

From Our Special Correspondent

CASTELLON-DE-LA-PLANA.

**T**HE Eleventh International Brigade of the Spanish Republican Army has undertaken to found and maintain a home for necessitous children and war orphans.

#### Beating the war resister at his own game!

It should not be overlooked that a "brigade" has nothing like the strength or the resources of the formation of that name in our army.

When one thinks of it, it is very fitting that a farm should be the symbol of peace. One imagines smoke curling from the chimney, quiet cows, the farmyard shimmering in mid-summer heat.

But to transform inertia into peace, one must not forget the long hours of toil in the heavy earth, nor the housewife's busy and endless round of duties—it's human energy that makes peace. **Peace has got a punch in it!**

Will you think during the next months, and especially during the next few weeks, of that group of young men and young women, giving all their energy to the cause of peace? You may feel that you yourself would like to join them; or perhaps that twinge of rheumatism reminds you that you would prefer to help in buying a cow or a tractor (not rabbits please!). In either case, will you write to the I.V.S.P., 1 Lyddon Terrace, Leeds, 2.

## FOUR POINTS FOR PACIFISTS

### "Tension That Seems Ready to Snap"

"FOUR things of more than ordinary importance that should be stressed in the mobilization of pacifist Christians" are put forward in a letter from T. D. Walser, Director of the Open Door Student Centre, at Shiba, Tokyo, published in the current number of *Reconciliation*.

The four points are:

1. "Abolition of the present economic system by which the few exploit the many, manipulating production and consumption under the motive of private profit. The seeds of most modern wars lie here."

2. "Laying aside of the distinctions between various types of pacifists (communist, Christian, anarchist, socialist) and the cooperation on the part of all war resisters everywhere in a no-more-war movement."

#### YOUTH AND PEACE

3. "Creation, almost *de novo*, of a world-wide youth movement for peace. Unfortunately the technique employed by the dictatorships is more skilful than that of the Christians, and thousands of youths are being brought into adulthood with the motto 'My country, right or wrong'."

4. "Re-examination of the theology and philosophy of our religion by which the basis of absolutist pacifism may be re-discovered and re-enforced."

The writer also declares that on a recent journey he found in many places, notably Japan and Germany, "a psychological and spiritual tension that seems ready to snap under the strain of 'over armaments' and nationalism."

(*Reconciliation* is published monthly, price 3d., by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.)

#### Millions to be Represented at Congress

Toronto—The Canadian League for Peace and Democracy is holding an important National Congress from November 19 to 21.

More than 3,000 delegates, representing several million people, are expected to attend.

—Agence Télégraphique R.U.P.

Just Published

## AN INTRODUCTION TO PACIFISM

by Philip S. Mumford

**P**ACIFISM is no peace at any price doctrine. More nearly it aligns to peace with honour—and common sense. It really explains why Peace is the logical safety for the Nation, rather than War.

The author is neither afraid of his opinions, nor the facts of history.

Some of his contentions will cause wide debate; others will bear careful analysis, but it is all to the good that so frank and full a statement on a subject of real importance should be made.

Very decidedly the author's arguments lead a long way toward outlining a wiser and safer future.

ROSE MACAULAY says of this book

"An admirably lucid and sane exposition of the pacifist position, meeting criticisms ably, and without evasion or sentimentalities."

At all Booksellers 2s. net

CASSELL & CO., LA BELLE SAUVAGE, LONDON, E.C.4

#### American View of Spanish War

"Your pamphlet on Spain seems to me the best thing of its kind that has been produced to date."

This was the comment of Aldous Huxley on *What About Spain?* a pamphlet published by the War Resisters League, 171 West 12th Street, New York, U.S.A.

#### PEACE WEEKS AND ARMISTICE DAY

Leicester, Nelson, and Plymouth are among the English towns which have planned peace weeks for the second week in November, which includes Armistice Day.

## Headquarters' Notes and Comments

By MAX PLOWMAN

96 Regent Street, W.1.

THE other night I had a dream. I dreamt I had got a logical conclusion machine. You put a thought in the slot and the machine automatically carried the thought to its logical conclusion. The result, which was always correct, came out like news on a tape-machine; and as I read the conclusions, what tickled me in the dream was that the answers were always pure nonsense and yet extremely funny.

\* \* \* \*

I have just been reading Kenneth Ingram's "Christianity—Right or Left" and I hasten to add that the connexion between my dream and Mr. Ingram's book is distinct; for he is a great deal more than a merely logical thinker: his book, in fact is evidence that the terms "Christian" and "Freethinker" are not antithetical. It is only when he comes to "Christian Pacifism" that he seems to me chop-logical. Christian Pacifism he regards as false Realism because it is "perfectionist." "Christ preached, it is true, an absolutist gospel. His maxims were uncompromising, His values were eternal," but "in the imperfect, actual world these absolute values can only be realized relatively. There has to be compromise... In a world where physical force is being used, and used for evil motives, he (the Christian) may be compelled directly or indirectly to use force in order to wrest that weapon out of evil hands. The law of love can only be completely applied when evil is removed: while evil remains, justice must remain."

\* \* \* \*

We never appear so admirable to ourselves as when we see ourselves wresting the weapon of force out of evil hands. That is the perfect image of Britannia - in - the looking-glass in 1914, and now again in 1937. But let that go. Is it true that the law of love can only be completely applied when evil is removed? If so, what is the meaning of the Crucifixion to Christians? Was it not a "complete" application of the law of love centuries before a time (which seems to me mythical) "when evil is removed?" "Removed?" By whom? How? By justice? And if so, where is the most suitable place to begin removing the acknowledged evil of war if not in ourselves? Waiting for the removal of evil before we decide to abstain from it is an indulgence of inaction dear to all our hearts. Mr. Ingram's alternative is to remove evil by force. Blot out the Fascists and wipe out the Nazis and look what a clean plate we shall have! So runs the Communist argument. But, handy-dandy, when once you start removing evil by force, the devil himself cannot tell which is the force and which the evil. And if Christ did not come to teach us a more excellent way, I, for one, do not know anything about Christianity, Right or Left.

\* \* \* \*

The pacifist is actually not concerned with anything half as logical as Mr. Ingram is concerned to prove. For if pacifism is perfectionism, all human relations are perfectionist in that they are derived from a sense

## The Notice Board

Basque children foster-parents: photos of your child can be bought at H.Q. now, 2½d. each.

Collecting boxes for use in raising funds for the P.P.U. are now obtainable from 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burtt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Anyone able to help or sell tickets for big meeting in Music Hall, Aberdeen, September 30, please get in touch immediately with Mrs. E. Grant, 52 Elmbank Terrace, Aberdeen.

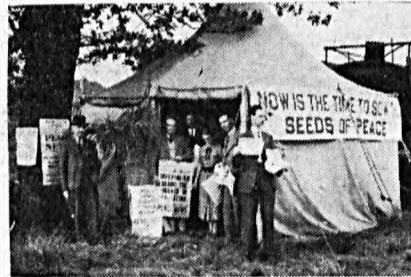
There is possibility of arranging transport for those attending regional garden party, September 18, arranged by West Wickham group. Groups hoping to be represented please tell Mr. A. Knebel, 62 Wickham Chase, West Wickham, very soon to facilitate this and catering. (See also "Diary," page 12.)

## Some New Ideas in Practice

### From Our Own Correspondents

**"JOIN up and save the World"** was the notice in large letters which greeted the many people who entered the peace tent erected by the Northfield Peace Group at a local flower show and fun fair.

This tent was an interesting venture, and the slogan outside, "Now is the time to sow the seeds of Peace," might be worth copying by other groups who are thinking of making a similar attempt. The palm, roses, and other



flowers which decorated the interior provided another link with the flower exhibition.

Some pacifists found that very valuable contacts could be made by mingling with the crowds. The booth-holders soon got to know them and some of them kindly indicated which of their fellow showmen could be persuaded to buy PEACE NEWS.

The experiences amongst the booth-holders were interesting and frequently amusing. One handsome young gipsy said, with a merry twinkle in his eye, that he would willingly purchase a copy of PEACE NEWS but for the unfortunate fact that he was unable to read!

### TABLEAU IN CARNIVAL

The P.P.U. was represented in a Hospital Carnival at Southend-on-Sea by a tableau entered by the Southend & District Group.

Made by group members, the  
(Continued on page 12)

of values which is not the L.C.M. of current estimates. The question for the pacifist is not whether he himself is a model of Christian virtue, or the express image of the eternal values Christ perceived, but something much more simple and realistic. It is whether he is ready and willing to offer himself to bankrupt authority to be the slave of its will to the untimely death of his fellows; or whether he isn't. The pacifist is concerned to bring into time just that portion of eternal value which will exclude the civil and military question of murder. And the difficulty of "applying eternal values to practice in time" is one in which not only the pacifist but Mr. Ingram himself is involved, simply

## GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

From all sides come signs of renewed activity. I have been struggling with a perfect jigsaw of meetings, trying to fit in speakers and arrange dates which are convenient to both parties. Many groups are working at top pressure and are obviously determined to make up for time lost during August.

May I suggest that every group leader gets in touch with every other leader in his county, with a view to arranging as quickly as possible a mass rally, supported by all. In London there are two such rallies being planned. At Chelsea Town Hall on November 19 a combined meeting is being held by all the West and South-Western groups, and the Golders Green Hippodrome will be the scene of another in the Northern area.

We could make November 11 a day of great pacifist activity, turn the natural feeling of remembrance into a great shout of "Never again!" The apathy of the public is only skin-deep and can be removed if we are persistent in our appeal for a pacifist alternative to rearmament. Someone at Swanwick asked for a better expression than "passive resistance" and it was suggested that what we need is "passive persistence." There is a lot of truth in this, and I for one am going to practise it.

Group activity must be divided into two parts—home and abroad. Under the first heading come: 1, Study circles; 2, Group and team meetings; 3, Dramatic groups; 4, Poster parades; 5, Press activity; 6, Small public meetings, and under the second I should include all activity with other groups, such as mass rallies, united poster parades, demonstrations and conferences.

Originality in the presentation of the pacifist case counts for a lot. In the old days it was quite enough to stand on a soap box; now it is better to have a poster parade and follow it up with a meeting at which, besides speakers, a pacifist film is shown, or a pacifist play acted. Literature is much better too, and can be used to prepare the way for the "yes-but's" and to answer more fully the questions put at meetings.

One final word: don't wait for the doubter to come to you. Go and meet him halfway, and show how by courage, self-sacrifice and humour the future lies with us, if only he will join up. What we want is an overwhelming enthusiasm based on the certainty of victory.

### Stop Press

Number of groups, July 31 ..	602
Number of groups, Sept. 1 ..	662
Increase in August .. .. ..	60

because—as art attests—there really are no other values worth valuing. Ultimately, life itself is either this effort or what Macbeth found it: "A tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." It is to prevent life from actually becoming this by our own hands, and not because of any perfectionist dream, that common, ordinary, irreligious human beings embrace pacifism today. The Sermon on the Mount is not the thesis of perfectionism but the synthesis of the contraries, law and love.

## UNDER THE OAK TREE

By BELLA HOOPER

(On behalf of the Basque Fund)

THURSDAY, August 26, began auspiciously for the inmates of Basque House. One of our little boys had a letter containing the news that his father had been killed at the Spanish front. This was a double cause of grief as his cousin, one of the senior girls, is in the school also, and she was heart-broken at the death of her uncle.

While we were all feeling depressed at this sorrow in our midst the newspapers came, and we opened them to read of the fall of Santander. This was indeed a terrible blow to us, because many of our children's parents and relations were in Santander, having gone there when Bilbao fell.

The bell was rung, and the children all assembled in the Lecture Room, where the news was broken to them. Their courage was remarkable, although all were grief-stricken. The Spanish teachers, splendid as always, went amongst the children, soothing them with words and caresses, and after the first few terrible moments they all went into the garden to walk in the sun and to face this great calamity. One boy remained indoors, leaning against the wall with his head bowed on his arms. With infinite gentleness another big boy led him away—a boy who had heard the news without a flicker of emotion: one who obviously knew that he must be strong in order to help the weak.

In the garden little groups of children were comforting each other; already some of the older ones were devising schemes for getting into touch with people in Santander in order to find out if their own relatives were safe. In a very few minutes some of the little ones were riding around on scooters and bicycles with no signs of recent tears.

The rest of the day makes a happier story. Much telephoning secured a double-decker bus to take everyone to the sea for the day. Sandwiches were hastily cut, bathing-costumes and towels collected together, and off they all went, some singing, most smiling, and, by the time the evening came, we brought home 58 children too tired and full of the excitements of Clacton to think of anything but a meal and bed.

\* \* \* \*

As a final celebration of their fortnight's holiday, the children gave a concert to the staff on the Saturday night before lessons began again on the Monday. It was organized entirely by the children, and performers and audience alike enjoyed a most entertaining performance, consisting of songs, dances, and a couple of very amusing sketches. Lemonade and cake for everyone concluded a highly successful evening.

\* \* \* \*

The blackberry season is upon us, and now excursions to the river are rivalled by blackberrying expeditions. A formidable army sets out, armed with sticks and window-poles for reaching high branches, and every imaginable receptacle for containing fruit, from enamel mugs to giant preserving-pans and pails. A neighbour has very kindly given us permission to gather fruit on his land, and the afternoon is spent in keen rivalry as to who shall pick most berries. On our return Nurse is busy attending to numerous scratches and nettle-stings, while great pans of jam boil merrily on the stove.

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## Democracy Contains the Germs of Its Own Decay

### Service for World Peace

Canon Charles E. Raven will be the preacher at a United Service of Intercession for World Peace and the League of Nations to be held at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London, at 3 p.m., on Saturday,

#### "CONSCRIPTING CHRISTIANITY"

(Canon Morris's recent broadcast sermon, also Middleton Murry's Swanwick camp lecture, are now obtainable in 1d. pamphlet form from the PEACE PLEDGE UNION).

**PEACE PLEDGE UNION**  
96 Regent Street, London, W.1

October 2. There will be an organ recital from 2.30 to 3 p.m., and doors will open at 2.15 p.m.

The collection will be in aid of the work of the London Regional Federation of the League of Nations Union and tickets for the reserved area may be obtained from the honorary secretary of the L.R.F. at 43 Russell Square, W.C.1, or from local L.N.U. branches.

### NEED TO AVOID WAR

A WARNING to those who considered Britain to be internally stable was given by Canon Guy Rogers, rector of Birmingham, in a paper at the Modern Churchmen's Conference at Cambridge last week.

It might be unwise, he said, to assume that our internal security or our reasonable equipoise between Church and State would continue indefinitely.

"The distinction between democratic and totalitarian States is nothing like so clear cut as apologists often assume. Democratic countries carry within themselves not only the seeds of their own decay, but the potential germs of dictatorship and totalitarianism."

Nevertheless, it was well within the bounds of human possibility, if we could avoid the paralysing totalitarian effects of war, to achieve something infinitely more Christian than we had today. It was no longer words but courage that was needed, and the capacity to work and to suffer for a cause.

## Scrap Today—Shells Tomorrow?

SHOULD a pacifist sell old iron if it is likely to be used in the manufacture of armaments? This problem, voiced by an Edgware (Middlesex) reader in PEACE NEWS three weeks ago, has resulted in suggestions from several readers.

An Irish Free State reader says that as this is, for a pacifist, an inopportune time for disposing of scrap, he would advise her to bury it in the back garden. If buried deep enough, it

yard (not £4, as offered in London) so, by the time it is carted, there will be little or no profit—but it is out of the way and not to be used for armaments." He understands "that accumulator firms are in great need of lead, and probably a local firm of wireless dealers could supply an address."

### THE REAL PROBLEM

But perhaps the real solution is indicated by a reader, signing himself "S.F.", who thinks the problem may be regarded as unsolved "while we have



might interest antiquarians in time to come (if any are left)."

### HELP HOSPITALS

But E. S. Danes, of Birmingham, suggests handing it over to hospitals on condition that it is melted down and used for leg-irons, &c. "The shortage of iron will send the price of leg-irons, &c., soaring," he writes. "Here is a chance for P.P.U. members to help more unfortunate brothers and sisters who are crippled and out of their meagre earnings have to buy these contrivances."

"W.A.A." suggests getting in touch with a firm that makes agricultural implements or something similar. This reader has himself disposed of a quantity of old iron and brass to a foundry where man-hole covers are made.

"The price is 50s. per ton in their

so many and mighty people believing in armaments.

"If we could prevent their making these (with scrap or other iron) by force as interpreted in terms of 'sanctions' or 'prohibitions' many of us might adopt that method."

"I think the better and surer way in the end is not to refuse the scrap they ask for, but let them have it and devote any money so obtained to the peace cause; that is, build up the real spiritual force."

"To illustrate my point, view it as building; you may delay the work or cause more expensive materials to be used, but it will proceed while men want it and until the rotten foundation is discovered and undermined."

## But I Say unto You which hear "Love Your Enemies, Do Good to Those Who Hate You"



Drawn by DONALD L. ARMITAGE

### AIR RAID "PRECAUTIONS."

#### Protest at Plan Which Would Dupe the Public

ARRANGEMENTS have been suggested for qualified opticians to assist in treating cases in the event of an air raid, and it has been remarked that the services of a skilled body of men of this nature would be of great help to the authorities.

This has drawn a protest from Mr. C. L. Harding, who, in a letter published in the journal of the Joint Council of Qualified Opticians and the British Optical Association, declares that "it is not a question of patriotism, but one of honesty versus hypocrisy."

"I am no expert in such matters," he continues, "but I am fully aware that the effect of all blistering cases on the eyes is so terrible that all the proposed V.A.D.s could do would be to ease the pain—the result would still be partial or complete blindness."

"By forming such a body of experts we are therefore merely serving to help dupe the public into believing that the precautions are effective, and in the name of honesty in the profession I for one object to the B.O.A. having anything to do with such inhumanity."

### THESE STUDENTS FOUND

#### The Seaside Was So Bracing!

From Our Own Correspondent

A DEPLETED party, which was to have consisted of undergraduates from Oxford and Goldsmith's College, London, recently made a brief beach-speaking tour.

Two days were spent at Hastings, where the party had a grand welcome both from the Peace Pledge Union and from evening audiences. On the "Level" at Brighton a good meeting was held (somewhat curtailed by thirst of the body as well as the spirit!).

The meeting at Seaford was quiet, but the tour ended with a bang at Worthing, where a three-hour shouting match with the Navy League drew a crowd of two hundred.

Though arranged at short notice, the tour was considered well worth while. It cleared speakers' minds by ruthlessly exposing their misty places; it showed we really have "the goods" which people want; and it showed the delightful humour and efficiency of the South Coast groups.

May it be the forerunner of a big tour next year, and of a real lead from university pacifists.

# Peace News

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**Subscription Rates:**

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

September 11, 1937

## A CLEAR-CUT ISSUE

RECENT months have seen a clarifying of the issue between those whose first concern is peace and those who give precedence to strengthening Britain's armaments—"in case . . ." As the Government's preparations proceed this issue will become even more clearly defined, and while the very tempo of those preparations, and of their inevitable counterpart in other lands, may be inclined to make pacifists feel themselves engaged in a race with time, the clarification brings with it a great opportunity to present the situation as one of "Total peace or total war."

There is becoming increasingly less room for those who are prepared to concede the justice of the pacifist demand for the removal of the economic and political causes of war, but at the same time desire to "confront the aggressors with an emphatic superiority of armed force," as the National Council of Labour put it in a declaration last week on "International Policy and Defence." Such words mean, at the very least, non-opposition to "rearmament." And "rearmament," with its concomitants, such as air raid "precautions" and so on, means the preparation for war of every phase of the national life. The notion that it is possible, in common with other countries, to undertake these measures, and to follow them with proposals for disarmament and the remedying of genuine grievances, is so palpably absurd as to create wonderment at a responsible body making the suggestion.

It is obvious, then, that if the nation is obsessed by the delusion of military "defence" against a possible war, it must leave all thoughts of creating the conditions of peace entirely out of its calculations and plan everything with a view to its suitability in the event of war. In other words, we must become totally prepared for a total war. We have sufficient belief in the sanity of the "ordinary" man to think that, if he can once be made to see the implications of that policy, he will be in a receptive mood to examine the pacifist alternative.

A constructive policy designed to right the wrongs of the past cannot be accompanied by "an emphatic superiority of armed force," for it must be the outward manifestation of an inward attitude of complete good will and freedom from fear. Indeed, accompanied by the threat of arms, it may merely be an expression of fear and therefore fail to achieve its objective. Only when we have attained that attitude shall we be in a position to devote our energies to the creation of "total" peace with the same assiduity as is displayed by politicians in preparing for total war.

## So-Called Pacifists and the Military Machine

*By the late Brig.-Gen. F. P. CROZIER, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.*

**B**Y "so-called pacifists" is meant those who support "Collective Security" as a means of ensuring peace; those who admit that, in the last resort, they will use the military machine to redress the position caused by aggression.

It is curious that this class of person nimbly calls to his aid the weapon of armed force, despite the fact that he knows little or nothing about the military machine. He takes it for granted that because the military machine has functioned since the days of early history, it is still able to function effectively. Often this class of person knows little about naval and military strategy or tactics, and less about the effect on strategy and tactics of the new dimension—air-power—which has become the predominating factor in all war.

In this matter Conservatives, as a rule, are more realistic and better informed than their critics. Although there is no member of the present Government who was an outstanding military figure during the World War, and although there are few members of Parliament who played an important part in the last war (except one or two sailors who are biased in favour of their own Service), still members of the Government do realize the danger which the weapon of war brings in its wake to aggressor and defender alike. They realize, perhaps, that initial aggression brings instant counter-aggression without producing any tangible results so far as victory is concerned.

It was on this account that the present National and militarist Government failed to face up to and fight Mussolini during the Abyssinian trouble. It knew that the British Fleet at Malta was vulnerable and at the mercy of air attack from enemy land bases in close proximity. The British Fleet was moved at once from Malta to Alexandria, a less useful harbour, but one farther away from Italian bases. This is all to the good. It is better to know the danger of a weapon in one's hands, particularly if, in an attempt to use it for destructive purposes against an opponent, one may encompass one's own destruction.

This is the real reason why the present Government has warned British merchant shipping, for the first time in the history of the British Empire, that it cannot count upon adequate protection on the high seas or in territorial waters. This is not because we are afraid of General Franco, but because we know that the first shot fired in earnest in the Mediterranean or along the Atlantic Coast of Spain would be the beginning of another world war, bringing wholesale destruction in its train.

The pity is, of course, that the Government, while longing to abandon force, has not sufficient vision to adopt the policy long advocated by Mr. George Lansbury and call a world conference (which Herr Hitler has told Mr. Lansbury he would welcome) in order to begin a new era of construction instead of trying to strengthen the old method of destruction while at the same time being afraid to use it.

Armaments for "defence" are now being increased by the British Government; yet we know there is no real defence. We know that the first shot over England, in the shape of a bomb dropped from the sky, would have the same effect throughout Europe as the first shot fired at Bilbao. We hope against hope; but no victory was ever won nor was a war ever staved off by hoping.

Believers in "Collective Security," I have noticed, use curiously erroneous arguments in order to bolster up their faith, principally by hair-splitting about words. Recently I asked six leading Socialists, who claim to be pacifists yet are supporters of the principle of "Collective Security," to describe to me, separately

and on different occasions, the photograph revealed to their minds of the opening stages of a world war, beginning with the aerial invasion of this country or of some other country in Europe. They all told me they were unable to visualize such a situation because they did not know enough about it. Have these people any right to claim the military weapon as an ally in the cause of peace when they cannot even form a mental picture of the way in which the machine would work?

The defects in the arguments put forward by people of this class are mainly in the mis-application of words. One will say that there is still such a thing as "the Sword of Justice": to be countered by another—a real pacifist—who says that the words should really be "the Bomb of Injustice." A third will argue that before the time of antiseptic surgery, chloroform, &c., soldiers in war used to suffer very much more than they do now. To that I might add that long after the days of antiseptic surgery soldiers suffered far more from disease than from wounds. The South African War from 1899 to 1902 was an example.

My own argument, however, would have nothing to do with that point. The relevant fact is that in the days when soldiers suffered more from lack of nursing and surgical skill, they were still soldiers, for the most part, taking part in a war from choice, and that women and children and the civil population were left out of the "game." The plea of "the Sword of Justice" is not really relevant, and therefore falls flat.

Another favourite argument used by supporters of "Collective Security" is that "Collective Security" has been tried, and although when it was said to have been tried in the last war the matter was bungled, still it was a beginning, and when a thing is beginning mistakes are naturally made. Some people argued that the plebiscite held in the Saar was another demonstration of effective "Collective Security," this time a better one because experience had been gained. Both these arguments are entirely false.

The War in France and Flanders and in other parts of the world between 1914 and 1918 was not a "Collective Security" war nor a collective war; it was a "coalition" war and was not a new kind of war at all. Most wars have been "coalition" wars, undertaken with arrangements involving some balance of power and the employment of allies, but far removed from the principle governing "Collective Security." The Germans and Austrians, with others too, were engaged between 1914 and 1918 in a "coalition" war, and no German or Austrian could possibly argue today that the means employed in those days had anything to do with "Collective Security." As for the Saar, there was no question of strife, there was no aggressor, there was no enemy. All parties concerned required and desired a peaceful solution, and one of the Commanders was warned by his Government that if a shot were fired he would be removed from his command.

Another argument used by believers in "Collective Security" is that the principles underlying the employment of a Police Force in a country can be applied internationally. This argument again is entirely false. Police employed within a country are normally unarmed and have the support of the vast majority of the people of that country. The criminal feels that he has the rest of the population of the country, in addition to the Police, against him, while the Police know what they are permitted to do within law, and that if they exceed their power they will themselves be prosecuted. The culprit, too, knows exactly how far the Police can go, and exactly what his maximum punishment will be if he is found guilty. None of

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## PARTS FOR THE PLATFORM

### Conferences

TEN nations received invitations to be represented at a conference which was to begin yesterday to deal with acts of piracy in the Mediterranean.

How strange that such acts should so soon result in the calling of a conference of the Powers represented, while at the same time the larger issues behind the warfare now raging in the Mediterranean are left untouched.

How long will it be before a conference is called to deal with these larger problems?

### We Live and Learn

FRANK admission by *The Times* of the failure of the "war to crush German militarism" was quoted in PEACE NEWS recently. Last week *The Times* followed it up with this:

Those who were fighting in the World War of 1914-1918 were often assured by their leaders that they were waging "a war to end war"; after its close those same leaders, turned peacemakers, did their utmost to devise machinery which should make their words good. Twenty years afterward it is abundantly clear that they failed.

The above confession appeared in a leading article entitled "Precedents or Progress," which claimed for the system of non-intervention that it promised at least some hope of advance over former systems, which have been tried and found wanting; and it deserves to be neither cramped by insistence on the observance of precedents which no longer apply, nor condemned because it did not spring fully-grown from the brains of its creators but is still in the process of evolution.

Surely it is the "observance of precedents which no longer apply" which is largely responsible for the fact that the world still tolerates war?

### Recruiting

THE latest move in the search for army recruits has been the raising of the upper age limit for recruits in certain branches from 25 years to 28 years (and, in the case of ex-Service men, to 30 years).

Almost simultaneously with this announcement came the news that recruiting for all branches of the Regular Army during August showed a decided

(Concluded on page 11, column 4)

*Continued from preceding column*

These safeguards can be applied to an International "Police" Force. The argument some people employ, namely that although they might be immune from attack by burglars or evilly disposed people, still they would support the Police as a matter of common responsibility, cannot be applied to international affairs. The same individual, if he were in his senses, would never support the activities of a Police Force that was indiscriminate in its action and arrested not the right man but the wrong man, or killed a lot of innocent people because they could not catch the culprit. The idea is farcical.

The question of defence, too, is taken for granted by the "Collective Security" supporter, as well as the imperialist, not because he or she has reasoned the matter out and has decided that it is now possible to defend, but because it has always been the custom to defend with ships, men, and guns, and the belief persists that it is now also possible to defend against aeroplanes. That is a fallacy which is leading this country into great danger.

There is nothing dishonourable in having come to the end of military resources in regard to defence simply because science has made defence impossible. But to think wrongly, if not dishonourable, is at least foolish, and when no effort whatsoever is taken to think correctly, then the matter becomes one of wickedness and sin.

The sooner, therefore, a World Conference is assembled the better; but it must be a conference from which militarists are debarred. The followers of "Collective Security" may not be able to visualize such a Conference at all. This would not surprise me, seeing that they cannot visualize the next war; but in that event I suggest that they ask Mr. George Lansbury and Canon Sheppard to explain.

## A Weekly Commentary

### Democracy and Christianity

By J. Middleton Murry

SOME, who have an inordinate belief in the power of the word, declare that the root of our troubles today is a confusion of terms. If we could define our meanings, clarity would ensue: and clarity is, they think, the first step to charity. I doubt it. I think the trouble lies deeper. The words about which men quarrel are the indefinable words—the words that have potency precisely because they point toward a goal unrealized.

Take one that is very prominent today: Democracy. Some say: There is real Democracy in Russia, and that is the only country where it is. Others say: Fascism is substantially democratic, and it is hard to deny it altogether. The average Englishman—that is the man who holds neither of these opinions—believes that Democracy is, *par excellence*, an English achievement and an English condition. Perhaps it is; but, in that case, the essence of Democracy is to be sought not in the fact that the existing Government has the avowed or tacit support of the majority of the people (as is probably the case both in Russia and in Germany), but in the maintenance of, and general regard for, freedom of thought and expression.

Certainly, the struggle for freedom of opinion and expression is bound up with the struggle for what we English call Democracy. The simple fact that PEACE NEWS could not possibly exist today either in Russia or in Germany is eloquent of a real distinction between their societies and ours, and one that does justify the average Englishman in his rough and ready way of lumping Communism and Fascism together as "dictatorial." And that is what he has at the back of his mind when he thinks of Democracy.

But when it comes to "fighting for Democracy," in this peculiar sense, the Englishman naturally begins to be bewildered. Particularly since he has fought that fight before. He "fought for Democracy" in 1914; and it involved him in fighting for Autocracy, in Russia anyhow. At the end of it all it was impossible to say that any more Democracy existed in the world than there was before. And it is excessively hard to see how Democracy, in this sense, can be "fought for" at all, once freedom of thought and expression have been established. You can fight for them, in your own country, when they have not yet been won: as undoubtedly many Englishmen—with John Milton for their organ voice—imagined they were doing when they fought against Charles I. You might conceivably fight against men who proposed to take it away from you. But, in the substantial sense, there are no such people in this country today.

Suppose it should happen—as it quite possibly may happen—that there was a general consensus of feeling in this country that, although freedom of thought and expression are all very well, freedom to express certain kinds of opinion is no longer to be endured—for example, pacifist opinion. How on earth should we fight for it then? Except metaphorically. For pacifists would go on trying to promulgate their convictions until they were silenced by imprisonment or death: they would strive to bear their witness. But it is obvious that Democracy, in this peculiar sense—a

peculiarly English sense, perhaps—cannot be fought for by any sort of violence.

One thing seems clear: first, that two distinct conditions are lumped together, rather carelessly, yet instinctively, under the name Democracy. One is the political rule of a majority of the people; the other, freedom of thought and expression which is, as it were, the leaven which keeps sane and wholesome and alive the rule of the majority. It is very much worth remembering that in this country the achievement of freedom of thought and expression preceded by very many years the achievement of full political Democracy; and indeed the achievement of full political Democracy was a gradual expansion of the basic conception of the worth and dignity of the individual which first sought allowance in the establishment of liberty of thought and speech. There is an organic and historical connexion between these two principles in English experience; there is also a philosophic and religious connexion between them. But, alas, they are not inseparable from one another in modern practice. There is nothing to prevent a majority of a people, enjoying universal franchise and acting through the machinery of representative government, from suspending or abolishing freedom of speech: as indeed actually happened in Germany.

That, to my mind, is the equivalent of the suicide of Democracy. It may be an inevitable suicide. I think it is inevitable in the sense that Democracy is *incapable* of waging modern warfare. If modern warfare is inevitable, then the suicide of Democracy is inevitable, too. But that statement has meaning only if we recognize that Democracy is much more than a political form; it is also a spirit. A modern nation may be able to wage modern warfare under the political *form* of Democracy; but it cannot wage modern warfare without killing the spirit of Democracy, for that spirit is indistinguishable from a spirit of reverence, or at least respect, for the individual human being. The indiscriminate mass-murder which is the essential feature of modern warfare, whereby it is distinguished from warfare in the past, is an activity which derides and annihilates the basic faith of Democracy. Just as surely, and perhaps more obviously, it derides and annihilates the basic faith of Christianity. But that is more obvious only because it has been forgotten that Democracy is the political expression of a Christian principle. Except we believe in the fundamental truths concerning human existence uttered by Jesus of Nazareth (which we can do, of course, without being Christians professed) Democracy is an absurdity. It is by a faith that is ultimately indistinguishable from the faith of Jesus that we respect human personality: it is on that respect for human personality that Democracy is based. When Democracy reaches the point at which it rejects the respect for human personality in its warfare, and in its preparation for warfare, it is preparing to commit suicide. It is then, I believe, that the undying regenerative power of Christianity begins to be felt again—like a spirit on the face of the waters: for it is the power which can save Democracy from itself.

## BRITISH DOMINATION OF INDIA BEHIND FRONTIER PROBLEM

**THE CHALLENGE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER: A Contribution to World Peace.**  
C. F. Andrews. George Allen and Unwin. 6s. (Stiff paper covers, 3s. 6d.)

*Reviewed by CARL HEATH*

THIS book is not entirely about the North-West Frontier, as such, but presents that question with the prior valuable background of the wider problem of India. And no-one is more capable of presenting this background than C. F. Andrews.

### INDIAN VIEWS IGNORED

It is quite impossible to understand the strength of Indian public opinion upon this matter of the military treatment of the Frontier and its difficulties, if that question be thought of as one standing by itself. **For it is India's subjection to Great Britain, the final determination of all military matters in India by the British Governments in Delhi and Whitehall, and the lack of all reference to Indian views on the treatment accorded to the tribal peoples, that makes of the N.W. Frontier such an embittering thing.**

Mr. Andrews builds up his case, and demolishes the military-political one, step by step. For the military case was, in the past, largely dependent on certain theories as to the intentions of Russia, and the potential dangers in that quarter. The advent of Soviet Russia has removed the old-time "menace."

Today a revised Frontier policy is badly needed; one that does not result in constant little wars with the border tribes, like the recent "disturbances in Waziristan"; disturbances which have been involving 37,000 troops in the field, and a corresponding huge expenditure, over which India neither has, nor will have under the new Constitution, any control whatever.

### BOMBING PLANES

In order to understand the Indian view the report of a debate in the Legislative Assembly last year should be studied (pp. 91-102), including the strong protest made against the use of the bombing 'plane. It is a lasting disgrace to this country that the retention of bombing for so-called "police purposes in certain outlying districts" is a cause of the retention of bombing altogether. British insistence upon this at Geneva in 1933 prevented any advance.

Mr. Andrews writes an interesting account of "Air Bombing on the Frontier" and of the ill effects of the war atmosphere, developed on the border, by the constant military preparations and training of armies for war along the Frontier. The two chapters on "The Brotherhood of Islam" and "The Hindu Tradition" should also be carefully read. If peace is to obtain on the Frontier it must be Indian Moslems who bring it about, men kin in race and religion to the tribes of the mountains.

A chapter on "The Challenge of Asia" concludes a deeply interesting little volume. "A sullen distrust of both of Britain and Europe, together with an increasing hostility to the League of Nations"—bodes ill for the future, and should compel attention, and much more attention, to the causes of this distrust. Mr. Andrews's book will greatly help the sincere student.

## MORE ABOUT PLAYS—Fourth article by R. H. WARD

BEFORE we go any farther, it will be as well to write to the publisher or agent of the play chosen (whose name and address will appear on the printed copy) and make sure that it is available for amateurs and that a licence will be granted for your performance.

It is illegal to give a play in public without an official licence, which must be displayed in the hall. (Author-producers of original works not licensed by the Lord Chamberlain—*verb. sap.*)

### THE CAST

Now the company must be formed to fill the parts offered by the play. (Unless a company exists already, in which case it is more likely that the process will be reversed, and a play chosen to suit the actors available.)

More depends on the producer than on the actors or the stage staff. The producer, and the stage - manager,

should be members of the executive committee, but it is as well that none of the actors should undertake executive work as well as his part.

It is a great mistake for the producer to take a part in the play himself, for if he does so he cannot remain objective about the production.

I hope there will be an opportunity to say more about the producer later on.

The stage manager comes next in importance; he should certainly be a separate person from the producer, and he should if possible have an assistant stage manager; he should also have an electrician-carpenter-odd-job-man, whom we will call the technician.

It may not be possible in a small company to have all three, in which case the best to cut out is the assistant, heavy as his work is; his duties should be clearly divided between the stage manager and the technician. If it is only possible to have one on the stage staff, he will have to work very hard indeed to combine efficiently these three functions, and this state of affairs should be avoided in all but the most

*If you want to show*

## WHERE PACIFISM HAS WORKED

—here's your "text-book"

"CAN you or any of your readers inform me of a book on the history of pacifism, giving examples where the pacifist technique has been successful?" In these words J. R. Parkinson, a London reader of PEACE NEWS, voices a need which must have been felt by many people.

"I know that Gregg's *Power of Non-Violence* devotes a chapter to it and I further recognize that pacifism is still in its infancy," he continues. "It does seem to me that so much pacifist propaganda is purely theoretical and it would have a much wider and deeper appeal if it could

be backed up with concrete examples."

An answer to this need has just appeared in the form of a new pamphlet, in which A. Ruth Fry has collected over thirty instances where "dangerous situations have been safely passed through, and death or injury averted, without the use of material weapons." The source of the information is given in each case and the instances given show the pacifist technique "on trial" under conditions of great variety, and often of great severity.

The pamphlet, entitled *Victory Without Violence*, costs 2d., and may be obtained from A. Ruth Fry, Thorpeness, Suffolk.

## Brief Reviews of Some New Pamphlets

WITH the approach of autumn comes the first of a spate of pamphlets, a selection from which is reviewed below.

*Published by Friends' Peace Literature Committee (Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1) for Northern Friends Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds.*

### Pacifists and Air Raid Precautions, by Karlin Capper-Johnson:

1d. A problem that has caused much anxiety to some pacifists is here discussed, and it is suggested that if the pacifist is not prepared to go unarmed and undefended in the midst of armaments he forfeits his right to demand disarmament from his fellow citizens.

*Should a Christian Fight?* by G. B. Smith. 1d. The Christian case against war put without unnecessary deviations from the main theme, and

in a style which will attract the "man in the street."

*Published by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.*

*Pacifism and the Christian Faith.* 1d. Anyone who heard the Bishop of Birmingham's address at St. Martin-in-the-Fields during this year's National Peace Congress would like a permanent record of it. Here it is, in handy pamphlet form, which makes it suitable for propaganda purposes, if desired.

*Published by the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship (Secretary, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier), Holy Cross Vicarage, 47 Argyle Square, London, W.C.1.*

*The Church Should Take the Lead.* 2d. Another pamphlet urging the Christian pacifist position, but directed especially toward members of the Church of England. Pronouncements of the Lambeth Conference of 1930 are used to show why the Church ought to provide a lead for its members.

*Published by Blue Moon Press Ltd., 69 Red Lion Street, London, W.C.1.*

*Poems for Peace, by members of the Peace Pledge Union.* 6d. Members of the Peace Pledge Union are very versatile people—indeed the man or woman who is an active group member often discovers talents previously hidden! This booklet is further proof of their versatility.

As George Nicholson says in his introduction, "Unconventional, unrestricted by the technicalities of modern poetry, here the reader will find more facts than fancies, and the nobler expressions of the human mind; peace instead of war, love instead of malice!"

## CHRISTIANITY & WAR

16 page Booklet FREE  
AND POST FREE

C. HICKS  
102 Cotswold Gardens, London, E.8

September

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## Advice to PACIFISTS on their CIVIL RIGHTS

THE National Council for Civil Liberties, a strictly non-party organization, was set up at the beginning of 1934.

Shortly after its foundation, the Government introduced the Incitement to Disaffection Bill (commonly known as the "Sedition Bill") which reversed fundamental principles of British law and made every kind of pacifist and anti-war propaganda an offence if it could be shown that such propaganda may have the effect of disaffected members of His Majesty's Forces.

The Council led a campaign of opposition throughout the country and was able to secure very substantial amendments to the Bill before it was finally placed on the Statute Book as the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934.

The Act remains, however, a dangerous potential weapon against all progressive propaganda and will doubtless be used in any crisis or national emergency to suppress any kind of activity which is distasteful to the Government of the day.

Such propaganda will be described as endangering our military efficiency

by  
**RONALD KIDD**

Secretary, National Council for Civil Liberties

and all pacifist and progressive work will be liable to cause disaffection.

THE National Council for Civil Liberties makes a regular practice of sending experienced observers to demonstrations and meetings at which it is thought that the police may possibly exceed their authority. The Council's observers saw the illegal behaviour of the police at the Hendon Air Displays in 1934 and 1935 and accordingly sent a strong contingent of observers to the Duxford and Mildenhall Air Displays which were held in the summer of 1935.

The illegal confiscation of pacifist literature by the police was repeated on these occasions and the Council subsequently sponsored a legal action in the County Court against the Chief Constable and one of the Sergeants of the Cambridgeshire Police.

The Council's advice was fully justified for at the end of the two

days' hearing of the case the Judge declared

- that the police had no reasonable grounds for apprehending a breach of the peace from the distribution of the anti-war literature outside these aerodromes, and
- that the action of the police in confiscating the literature was entirely illegal.

Apart from undertaking litigation in the courts the Council gives a great deal of free legal advice to its members and affiliated organizations on questions of civil rights, and it defends a large number of persons in the courts whom it considers to have been wrongfully arrested. This free legal service has already proved its usefulness to a large number of the local groups of the Peace Pledge Union which have undertaken various kinds of open-air propaganda.

THE Council is frequently asked whether it is legal

- a. to sell pacifist literature to soldiers in uniform and in mufti;
- b. To give free literature to soldiers and
- c. To explain the pacifist position to soldiers in answer to their questions.

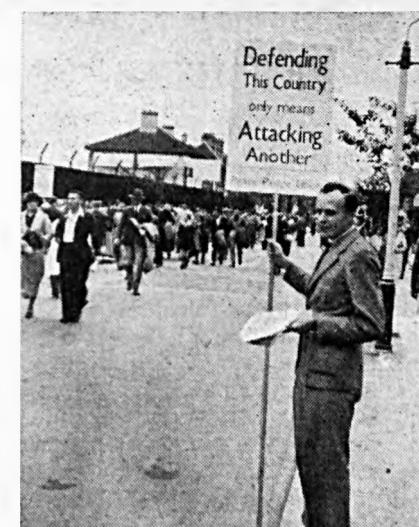
The reply to all these three points is that strictly it would be an offence under the Incitement to Disaffection Act to do any of these things, and if the Government, at the instigation of the police or military authorities, chose to exercise the powers which it possesses under that Act, the persons carrying out such propaganda would be liable to a £200 fine or two years' imprisonment (or both) for actions which might be held to be likely to disaffect members of His Majesty's Forces from their duty or allegiance.

If proceedings were taken against pacifists under this Act it would be necessary for the prosecution to prove the guilty intention of causing disaffection among the Forces. In British law a man's intentions are inferred from the natural and probable consequences of his action. The sole purpose of all pacifist and anti-war literature is to put people against war and if such literature eventually reached members of the Forces (as it undoubtedly would at some time or other) it would be held in law that this was the natural and probable consequence of the act of distribution.

AT the time that the so-called "Sedition Bill" was passing through Parliament the Council predicted that this was not a measure which would be immediately applied, but was intended to be a useful weapon for future use in the hands of any reactionary Government.

Since it became law in 1934, there has been only one prosecution under the Act (that of the young student Phillips at Leeds University early this year) whereas there could have been many hundreds or even thousands had the Government wished to operate the Act to the full. The Government is only held back by the state of public opinion.

The Act is a weapon which will be used whenever the Government decides that pacifist activity has become a serious menace to its recruiting schemes, rearmament, &c. The Government would probably take



Although demonstrators found no trouble at Hendon R.A.F. Pageant this year, observers were there—just in case.

action if pacifist propaganda appeared to be reaching Service men in any appreciable quantity, but whether prosecutions will be instituted against people selling or distributing literature near military centres, tattoos, and recruiting meetings will depend largely on the temper of the local military authorities and the views which the present War Minister may hold.

Apart from pacifist and anti-war propaganda (whether by the spoken or printed word) which is directly addressed to members of the forces, there is nothing illegal in the distribution of anti-war literature to civilians or the making of anti-war speeches to general audiences.

The Incitement to Disaffection Act is solely concerned with these things as they affect soldiers, sailors, airmen, territorials, and reservists.

If it is desired to keep strictly within the limits of the law, it is undesirable to put over any kind of pacifist propaganda to serving members of the Forces. Care should also be exercised at tattoos and other Service functions, if literature is asked for or inquiries made by apparent civilians who, there is good reason to believe, may be territorials, reservists, or police agents-provocateur.

There is nothing illegal in literature or speeches which may be directed against recruiting, so long as this literature or these speeches are directed only to genuine civilians. The mere fact that this propaganda may be carried on near a camp, aerodrome, or other Service quarters does not make this propaganda illegal so long as it is not carried out on military, naval, air force, or other private ground.

IT is of the utmost importance that all pacifist propagandists shall clearly understand that no police officer is entitled to confiscate literature or to question sellers and distributors of such literature unless that officer states that he wishes to bring a charge against them for some specific breach of the law.

Such a charge will not necessarily be brought under the Incitement to Disaffection Act; it may be a mere charge of obstruction or of using insulting words and behaviour liable to cause a breach of the peace. These minor charges are frequently used quite unjustifiably by the police to get rid of propagandists whose work is objectionable to the authorities.

All high-handed or illegal actions either of the civil or the military police should be promptly reported in full detail to the National Council for Civil Liberties, Morley House, 320 Regent Street, London, W.1. (Langham 4388).

**CECIL H. WILSON, M.P. says**

### There's Never an Inquest After a War

WHY is it that when

a single death takes place from what is called an unnatural cause, and whether the body is that of a newborn baby or a centenarian, a penniless pauper or a millionaire, and whether the place where it occurs is the home or the hospital, the street, the office or the factory, the sea or the land, the deep mine or the mountainside, if the coroner so decides an inquest must take place?

When an epidemic, a railway accident, a boiler explosion, a mining disaster or some similar calamity occurs some government department initiates an exhaustive inquiry, and even when one soldier, or one sailor, kills another, or an airman crashes there is an exhaustive inquiry by the army, navy, or air force to determine the cause.

The object of most such inquests and inquiries is not so much to find who was to blame, as to prevent a recurrence, but if there is culpability a prosecution generally follows.

But there has never been an exhaustive inquiry after a war. It would not be easy for us, who are civilized, to explain to someone who did not enjoy the benefits of civilization, why we took so much trouble in the case of single deaths, but none at all when millions die.

If we could make up our minds to have an exhaustive inquiry as to the causes, diplomatic, financial, commercial, &c., which led up to 1914, and to extend it to include both these causes and all others, including the part played during the War by states-

men, military commanders, newspapers, spies, and profiteers, and spread the net wide enough and make the meshes small enough so that none would escape, what a sensation there would be.

The reputations of both dead and living would crumble, war decorations would disappear, war memorials would disappear, when the whole sordid business was brought to the light of day.

But if we value a single life so highly why should we not press for inquiry where the death of millions, the physical or mental wrecking of thousands, the distress of parents, widows, orphans, and lovers is involved?

Many may hesitate to involve themselves in political action but the constitution of parliaments and governments depends upon the votes of the electorate. There is no doubt that the electorate, that is the people, want peace, and that if the matter were carefully put to them, they would respond to the demand for an inquiry.

If Members of Parliament and candidates refuse to countenance it, others must be found who would do so.

Why is such an inquest necessary? Because it would make the people more alive to the processes which will ultimately destroy them.

Why do so many politicians and statesmen think it to be unnecessary? Because their own misdeeds, their evil commitments, would be laid bare, and no further subterfuge would save them from the just wrath of the people.

## THE PACIFIST CASE IN POLITICS

MR. OWEN complains in your issue of August 14 that we are "obstructing" the task of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group by raising the question of a separate pacifist party at the conventions organized by them, and that we are "forcing" this "at conventions called for an entirely different purpose." Bearing in mind, however, the declared object of the conventions ("to give positive political direction to pacifist aspirations") and the conditions laid down by the sponsors themselves (inviting "political . . . organizations" and permitting legitimate amendments) his complaints seem strangely inconsistent.

Our amendment to resolution 4, "Disarmament," merely expresses an honest (and, as we think, realistic) opinion as to the best method of achieving the object of the resolution. Is it not reasonable, then, that delegates should face this point of view?

The Parliamentary Group apparently favours permeation rather than a separate party, but this, surely, is open to question and can only be satisfactorily settled by frank discussion. The "educational value" of the conventions would be seriously diminished if restrictions were imposed to exclude from discussion views relevant to the subject.

We have never suggested that political pacifism can be "manufactured in some central political factory or forced in some pacifist hothouse." We prefer to rely on the old-fashioned democratic method of friendly discussion and on the response which a reasoned case can win. In pursuing this method, we naturally seek to co-operate with all other pacifists, so that a common political policy may be presented to our fellow-citizens.

W. L. WILLIAMS.  
*Acting Secretary, Christian Pacifist Party.*  
39 Park Road, Coventry.

"Even the Labour Party had completely abandoned the small measure of pacifism which, till lately, had differentiated it from other parties.

"It was therefore essential, in the interests of peace, that a pacifist political instrument should be created to aim at the application of a pacifist philosophy to international affairs and to deal with the urgent problems of communal life in an entirely new way." (Rev. H. I. Jones at conference of Christian Pacifist Party.)

First, in regard to the Labour Party—as long as this is a governmental party in the normal sense its "small measure of pacifism" must be abandoned on occasion. Government in the normal sense involves some sort of dictatorship—even if that of the majority over a minority.

What manner of sanctions does this Parliamentary political group suggest? What is this "pacifist political instrument" to be? Will it eliminate the necessity of any sort of dictatorship or normal governmental sanctions? If by "parliamentary" it is intended to suggest the idea of talking things over together apart from the idea of normal government then there might be no antipathy between the terms "parliamentary" and "pacifist." Some of us would like a little more information on this.

We feel that pacifism necessarily is an appeal to the individual. It is not an idea that can be enforced. Therefore it is not compatible with normal governmental ideas and policy.

As I finish this letter my eye catches

## LETTERS to the EDITOR

### THE SCOUT MOVEMENT & PEACE

AS a Scouter who is also a signatory of the peace pledge, allow me to point out that your references to Lord Baden-Powell would be less misleading, though I do not suggest that they are incorrect, if you could clearly state that a man may progressively grow toward the light and sincerely react to his own spiritual leadings. Thus the same man who wrote many things twenty years ago is now anxious that those things might be stated differently.

It is not fair to judge any by their past errors, or to attach those errors to a successful system in such a manner as to limit its power for good.

The Scout movement is vulnerable on this score: *a*, by pacifists quoting former sayings of the Chief; *b*, by militarists quoting the same sayings and thus trying to influence modern scouting toward militarism.

I see that on page ten of PEACE NEWS, August 21, you have (I think correctly) quoted the Chief's idea. How far he has traversed along the road is his own business, but it ought to be a great encouragement to us to realize this spiritual evolution.

"W."

### Church and War

The Church is a society composed of human beings, not a structure built of bricks and mortar; nor are those human beings exclusively bishops or those in authority. To remain "outside the doors" of this society means to be cut off from the Bishop of Birmingham, Canon Sheppard, Canon Morris, Henry Carter, Maude Royden, George Lansbury, Middleton Murry, and numerous others who stand unflinchingly for the pacifist position. Were all pacifists to adopt your correspondent's attitude would there ever be a leaven wherewith to leaven the lump?

BERNARD P. BURNETT.  
17 Church Road, Lower Broughton, Salford, 7.

"Anon" cannot worship until the Church adopts full pacifist views. I fear it is hopeless to expect the whole organized Christian body to do this, as it has never stood solidly for any reform or even against any evil.

I would suggest, however, that "Anon" should seek an individual church where the leader preaches pacifism. Such places are to be found, especially among Nonconformists.

"T.F.M."

I suggest the best thing "Anon" can do to help the Church become pacifist is to get "inside" the Church and make his pacifist faith known. Surely it is not the pacifist attitude to leave the job of "reforming" the Church to somebody else, and if he's going to wait for the Church to become perfect before he joins, he'll have to wait a long time.

J. R. PARKINSON.  
11 Quernmore Road, London, N.4.

this paragraph just below a recent article on "Pacifist Politics":

"We must look for some way of working independent of any government, relying on the proved desirability of each reform to make it effective. Is this possible? If so, how is it to be done?"

B. J. OVER.  
Bleadon, Weston-super-Mare.

### ONE MAN'S MEAT IS . . .

IN the letter headed "Red Herrings" in your issue of August 21 the writer warns pacifists against cranks.

This connexion is indeed a serious weakness, and to many people pacifism is a doctrine for milksops and C3 individuals. Nevertheless if this new, organized peace movement is built on the fundamental idea of the unity of mankind this difficulty should disappear—such an all-embracing faith rises above the differentiation of sects and parties.

The serious pacifist, who aims at construction, must surely strive to strengthen himself in every way he can. Age-old religious practices of prayer, fasting, meditation, etc., which have brought genuine inspiration and aid to fellow wayfarers before us, should not be dismissed without due thought.

Today materialists often consider the deeper secrets of existence a mere manifestation of superstition. But the underlying, spiritual background to all life remains, notwithstanding the dulling effect caused by the use of violence as a definite policy.

It is for everyone to discover the needs of his own particular temperament, since in all truth the Kingdom of God is within us.

PATIENCE SCOTT.  
Bleak House, Queen's Park, South Drive, Bournemouth.

### Germany

A. P. Laurie is certainly correct in declaring Hitler's idea of a "peaceful settlement of Europe" to be consistent with his statement: "If you come in peace, we also come in peace, but if you come plotting war, then we also will return to the old savage policy which I have laid down in *Mein Kampf*." That may be Hitler's and A. P. Laurie's idea of pacifism, but it is not that of the P.P.U.

We would ask what is the purpose behind A. P. Laurie's constant defence of Hitler, as seen in his many letters? We desire and advocate peace with the Germans with all our hearts. We are deeply conscious of the wrongs we have inflicted upon them, and of our own deep-rooted and actively selfish nationalism. But how is it possible to confuse the blind nationalism of Hitler, with its record of internal violence and deadly suppression of all that was best in Germany, with genuine pacifism?

What is behind A. P. Laurie's inconsistent championship of Hitler and all his doings?

ISABEL S. H. ASHBY.  
67 Stoneygate Road, Leicester.

### Women

When women wanted the vote, it was daily dinned in our ears and placarded before our eyes, "Votes for Women"! Numberless meetings were convened all over the country—their voices were heard in parks and at street-corners; they paraded outside the Houses of Parliament day and night. They did something! They GOT something! What they wanted!

There are 2,000,000 more women in England than men—women produce the nation. Let them say: "No more war! Enough of this barbarism! We forbid!!"

HENRY J. BAYLIS.  
Teddington, Middlesex.

*Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.*

*Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.*

### Palestine

I hesitate to criticize an article in PEACE NEWS by such an authority as Mr. Wilfred Wellock, but I would like to comment on his article on "The Problem of Palestine" in the issue of August 21.

Surely it is unjust and untrue to believe that all the members of the Royal Commission were actuated by the imperialism of Mr. Amery and Commander Locker-Lampson. The solution suggested may not be a satisfactory one, and imperialism may be playing its part in the scheme, but yet the scheme may have its merits. As Mr. Wellock says, "mutual cooperation" is the only possible basis on which Jews and Arabs can live together in Palestine. If there were cooperation, almost any scheme would be workable. If both the Jews and the Arabs should agree to partition the artificial frontier will merely serve like a garden wall, as a delimitation of property, and not as a barrier between neighbours.

"M.E.D."

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A MUSIC-HALL chorus some time ago expressed curiosity respecting the destiny of flies in the winter time. A similar mood may be related to the activity of M.P.s in autumn.

Although this is a non-party journal, I can only speak for Labour M.P.s and therefore offer the information that many of that party are at the moment concerned with four important matters—meetings and interviews in their constituencies, a Socialist Crusade week from September 19, the Labour Party Conference in early October, and the borough elections in November.

The first section includes such varied functions as talking on pacifism to the League of Youth, conferring with supporters about the Conference agenda, opening an Allotment Association show and "saying a few words" at a Salvation Army thanksgiving service for the financial success of the week's exhibition of imitation Coronation regalia!

Meanwhile we ponder on the decision of the Labour Party to endorse rearmament against fascist aggression and its probable endorsement at the Conference. Most pacifists are depressed at this decision and urge Labour delegates to vote against it, and some are inclined to wash their hands of politics or else to sympathize with the idea of a pure Pacifist Party.

**I**T might help if we considered the actual operation of political organization in a typical instance.

Let us take a constituency with 48,000 electors, of whom 33,000 went to the poll at the last General Election, the remaining 15,000 covering removals, sickness, absence, or indissoluble indifference.

Approximately half of the 33,000 are anti-socialist and certainly anti-pacifistic to pacifism, and of the other half of 16,500 just over 1,000 are individual members of the Labour Party. The Labour Party has five wards and a monthly members' meeting in each ward, with a total attendance of about 150.

We have, then, 150 active workers for the Labour Party out of 48,000 electors, or less than 0.3 percent.

Of course there are many outside either this percentage or of actual Party membership who are politically minded in some measure. But in what measure?

Perhaps a hundred or so are pure pacifists and another hundred are Douglasites, anarchists, fascists, and so forth. Then there are those whose main interest is in their church or their trade union or their bowling or darts club and who, though voting, take next to no part in exploring political problems and in advancing political education.

Both these and the overwhelming

**HONOUR AND ARMS****How fear of Pacifism made Newspapers suppress the Truth about General Crozier**

By MAX PLOWMAN

LAST week I wrote about the British Press censorship of pacifism. But I little knew how striking an example of this new feature in our public life was to be afforded by the death of General Crozier.

I have before me a huge collection of Press cuttings and, to judge from the majority of them, the fact that General Crozier became an absolute pacifist, founded the Peace Pledge Union along with Canon Sheppard, and forfeited a small fortune by so doing, was of no importance compared with the fact that the secretary of the Cardiff Branch of the British Legion is anxious that as few people as possible shall read the General's last book, *The Men I Killed*.

*The Times*'s interpretation of the fact that the General turned from war right about face was: "He became a professional lecturer and writer for the League of Nations," a statement that—apart from its disgraceful meanness—has not the merit of being even verbally true. But all through the Press-notices runs the same note. Anything to prevent the simple truth about this brave and honest man from being told, so that others might profit from the General's experience and follow his example in calling a spade a spade.

Milton said that truth comes into the world a bastard. The General's last book was as pointed an illustration of this as could be found.

With the courage of a man who had no need to be careful of his own reputation as a soldier, since he had been loaded with military honours, the General turned the searchlight on the seamy side of "giving one's life for

majority of electors depend for their political illumination on brief surveys of the daily Press, fortified by tradition, temperament, fear, prejudice, hardship or resentment, desultory, haphazard gossip, the subtle influence of the cinema, and the intermittent challenge or stimuli of election propaganda.

Between elections about five percent attend a public political meeting occasionally and probably the same number glance at a political pamphlet. A "film" magazine will have about ten times as many readers as PEACE NEWS and the same proportion will be absorbed in the sporting columns of the *Daily Herald* or the *News Chronicle* as compared with those who read the editorials.

This is the actual human material of political democracy and, somehow, pacifism is to be radiated through the 150 to the 1,000, then through the 1,000 to the 16,500, and through them to the 48,000, contending in the process with complex interwoven strands of psychological limitations, instinctive reactions, and diverse loyalties.

(Reginald Sorensen will continue this subject next week.)

one's country" and all the ghastly sentimentality which hides the fact that it is a soldier's duty to kill and to keep on killing by every method that science can devise.

He told quite plainly how it had been his clear and patriotic duty to shoot men of his own whose nerves had broken under the strain of this compulsion; and since he described his own experience and narrated what he had had to do himself, not all the British or Foreign Legionaries in the world will be able to prevent that portion of truth from coming to life in the world.

The attempt to pretend that someone's honour is impugned is a pretence unworthy even of those who make it. The fact that officers and non-commissioned officers in the Great War were given instructions to shoot loiterers in an attack is a fact which every front-line trench man knows as well as he knows his own name. To pretend that every conscript was a whale for eating German machine-guns is just part of the camouflage and unprincipled humbug with which war and preparation for war has to be surrounded in order that it may be kept going.

The truth of the General's indictment of war stands and will stand till doomsday, as every honest member of the Services knows perfectly well. That indictment has nothing to do with pacifism because the pacifist is not concerned with what goes on in the Army, or with the measures necessary for the maintenance of discipline in the field. He is not vitally concerned with the exposure of what may be described as the Army's internal humbug, since his business is to persuade men that the whole activity is senseless, futile, and unnecessary.

But when a man of Brig.-Gen. Crozier's reputation tells the truth about what he knows, it is to truth, and only indirectly to pacifism, that he pays tribute. Those who cannot stand it need a purge for their minds. Those who fail to give honour where honour is due and have spoken slightly of the General just because they are in mortal fear of pacifism are the enemies, not merely of pacifism, but of honour and truth themselves. In his death, as in his life, General Crozier has been a sharp sword dividing truth and honour from falsehood and dishonour. We honour ourselves by honouring his memory.

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**Platform Pars**

(Concluded from page 7, column 1)

increase over last year. During the last fortnight of the month the figures constituted a record for that period in any August since 1931. It would be interesting to know how far tattoos, &c., were responsible for this.

**"Living Down" the Past**

DESPITE these records, however, the army's need for recruits is still urgent. Once again we must go to *The Times* for a frank admission of the reason for this:

Vaguely, it is known to all that life in the army is much more comfortable and pleasant than it used to be. But that vague knowledge of the present has to fight against a very particular knowledge of the past. The possible recruits of today are the sons of men who fought in the Great War; and—not to put too fine a point upon it—in many an ex-Service man's head the Great War will take a great deal of living down.

More public assurance is needed that in the army a man is treated less like a machine than he used to be and more like a man; and that discipline means neither cruel tyranny nor futile orders and petty restrictions. How this news may be spread is a matter for the practitioners of publicity. But a gay outside goes for a great deal.

Among the ideas suggested to provide a "gay outside" were the following:

For the Regular Army no less than for the Territorials, camps accessible to the public, football matches and cricket matches in attractive spots, gymkhana, regimental competitions—anything to prove that the army offers a happy life is sure to attract attention.

In other words, anything to make people forget what the army's real work is.

**Trade Unions and Arms**

MANY Trade Union and Labour leaders seem to be obliging the Government by falling into the trap of supporting "rearmament." Even apart from the question of pacifism this seems the greatest folly imaginable. What it may result in was indicated in the Glasgow newspaper *Forward* recently:

Let us make no mistakes and have no illusions. If war comes British democracy and the rights of the trade unions will disappear. And the British, hard faced with a panic situation, will be no less ruthless than the German or the Italian brand. The adequate preparation for defence which Mr. Marchbank supports (but for which he does not vote) will very likely be ultimately used for shooting down rebellious railwaymen who dare strike for the right to live.

**LATE NEWS**

Sandwich parades and demonstration against visit of Tanks to Northampton on Saturday and Sunday, September 18 and 19, helpers needed from Northamptonshire and district; communicate with W. S. Seamark, 2 Great Russell Street, Northampton—hospitality for night provided.

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September 11, 1937

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### MEETINGS

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

### PEACE STICKERS

USE PEACE "STICKERS" (adhesive stamps) on your letters. 1s. per 100 from Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

### PERSONAL

YOUNG MAN, member of P.P.U., wishes to meet young lady, age about 25, of similar interests, with a view to friendship. Liverpool, Manchester district. Full particulars in confidence. Box No. D.42, PEACE NEWS, 59 Waterfall Road, N.11.

### SITUATION Wanted

YOUNG WOMAN, shorthand typist, graduate, pacifist, with teaching and business experience, seeks change post. Non-commercial preferred.—Box D.44, PEACE NEWS, 59 Waterfall Road, N.11.

Please send names and addresses of anyone who might be interested to receive specimen copies of PEACE NEWS to the publishing office, 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11.

## DIARY OF THE WEEK

September

- 11 (Sat.) 3 p.m. Stirling House, WOOD GREEN, London, N.22; quarterly conference; Wood Green and Southgate Peace Council.  
3 p.m. Tokio Café, BRADFORD; quarterly meeting; W. Yorkshire Federation, P.P.U.
- 12 (Sun.) 4 p.m. STREATHAM COMMON; Coun. Mrs. Goodrich, Rev. Sam Rowley, and John Barclay at open-air demonstration; Women's Guild Peace Committee.  
8 p.m. Congregational Church Schoolroom, CHEADLE, Cheshire; A. Ruth Fry and A. J. Brayshaw at public meeting; P.P.U.
- 13 (Mon.) 8 p.m. Congregational Lecture Hall, nr. Clock Tower, BEXLEYHEATH; Canon Morris and Captain Mumford at demonstration; P.P.U.  
8 p.m. Orchard House, High Street, WORTHING; Frank Hancock at meeting to form P.P.U. group.
- 13—19 (Mon.—Sun.) Glasgow Peace Week.
- 14 (Tues.) 8 p.m. Temperance Hall, BRIDLINGTON; Canon S. Morris on "Constructive Peace"; P.P.U.
- 15 (Wed.) 7.30 p.m. Kingston Methodist Church, HULL; combined party; F.o.R. and Methodist Peace Fellowship.

(Continued from page 4, column 2)

tableau was erected on a lorry driven by a P.P.U. member. It consisted of a rocky precipice with a globe to represent the world about to topple over the edge to destruction, but being held back by pacifists straining at ropes in a determined effort to prevent the catastrophe.

The tableau excited a great deal of comment along the five-mile route, and at several points the entry was applauded by sections of the crowd.

### POSTER PARADE HINTS

Members of the Portsmouth group learnt some useful hints from a recent poster parade. As they processed through the streets two members mingled with the crowds and obtained impressions of how the parade was received.

People did read the posters, but only those with a few words on

them.  
"You can't get peace by war" was one that went home.

Lessons from the parade were thus: To have a banner at the head of the procession with the words "Peace Pledge Union" and the pledge, so that all shall know what the procession is for. Next, to have either all one poster or a few with plain, but telling wording. Finally, for processions in the evening, to illuminate the posters with torches carried by members.

### REGIONAL GARDEN PARTY

Miss Rose Macaulay will be present at the regional garden party arranged by West Wickham group for next Saturday (see Notice Board).

Among other attractions will be a display of ballet dancing on the grass by women members of the Bexleyheath group.

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